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# Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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R 251215Z JUL 78
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6358
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, EGEN, ELAB, ETRD, PL
SUBJ: GIEREK'S MID-YEAR REPORT ON THE CONOMY TO WORKERS'
SELF-GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE: A CLOUDY PICTURE

1. IN A LENGTHY REPORT DELIVERED ON BEHALF OF THE
POLITBURO TO A CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF
WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATONS (KONITETI
SAMORZADU ROBOTNICZEGO - KSR) AND PUBLISHED JULY 4
IN THE POLISH PARTY DAILY TRYBUNA LUDU, PZPR FIRST
SECRETARY EDWARD GIEREK POINTED TO CERTAIN ACHIEVEMENTS
OF THE POLISH ECONOMY IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1978,
BUT HE ALSO CATALOGUED THE NUMEROUS ILLS THAT STILL
PLAGUE IT. IN SUM, GIEREK SAID THE ECONOMY IS
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HEADED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, HAVING REGISTERED
GAINS IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, AVERAGE INCOME AND
HOUSING, BUT CONTINUES TO SUFFER FROM DEFICIENCIES
IN MARKET SUPPLIES, POOR WORK DISCIPLINE, INSUFFICIENT
RATIONALIZATION OF IMPORTS, AND INADEQUATE PERFORMANCE
IN THE EXPORT SECTOR. GIEREK PRAISED THE ROLE OF
WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT AND URGED KSRS TO DO THEIR

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UTMOST TO ASSURE PLAN FULFILLMENT FOR THE WELFARE
GQ ALL. HOWEVER, HIS CPGRADING OF KSRS
IN FACTORY ADMINISTRATION WAS MOST PROBABLY LIP SERVICE.
END SUMMARY.

2. GIEREK REVIEWED THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF HIS REPORT TO THE SECOND NATIONAL PZPR CONFERENCE IN JANUARY. HE SAID THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WITH KSRS WAS TO "REFLECT TOGETHER" ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, AND TO DETERMINE CURRENT TASKS. THE FIRST SECRETARY'S REVIEW, REMINISCENT OF HIS ADDRESS TO THE PARTY CONFERENCE, STRUCK A QUITE SOBER BALANCE AND WAS LONG ON EXHORTATION. GIEREK CITED THE FOLLOWING ACHIEVEMENTS FOR THE JANUARY - JUNE PERIOD:

(A) AN INCREASE IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OF ALMOST SIX PERCENT "DESPITE TENSIONS AND DIFFICULTIES";

(B) A RISE OF 240 ZLOTYS IN THE AVERAGE WAGES OF EMPLOYEES IN THE "SOCIALIZED ECONOMY",

(C) CONSTRUCTION OF 53,600 APARTMENTS BY THE STATE SECTOR DURING THE FIRST FIVE MONTHS OF 1978. THESE APARTMENTS OCCUPY 2.7 MILLION SQUARE METERS, 26 PERCENT OVER THE FIGURE FOR LAST YEAR AT THE SAME TIME;

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(D) COMPLETION OF THE FIRST STAGE OF CONSTRUCTION OF THE HUTA KATOWICE STEELWORKS;

(E) ARRIVING AT THE STAGE OF READINESS TO EXPLOIT THE LUBLIN COAL BASIN (GIEREK SAID THE MINERS HAD REACHED THE HARD COLA DEPOSITS);

(F) EXPANSION OF THE PRODUCTION CAPACITY OF MANY INDUSTRIES, INCLUDING THE FOOD INDUSTRY.

3. DESPITE THESE GAINS, GIEREK POINTED TO PERSISTENT PROBLEMS IN SEVERAL MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY:

(A) INCOME AND PRODUCTIVITY: "THE ASSUMED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GROWTH OF WAGES AND THE GROWTH OF PRODUCTION HAVE NOT YET BEEN OBTAINED IN MANY ENTERPRISES."

(B) INVESTMENTS: "DELAYS STILL OCCUR IN THE COMPLETION OF INVESTMENTS ALONG WITH SHORTCOMINGS IN QUALITY AND WORK ORGANIZATION". (AS A RESULT, GIEREK SAID, MANY SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY HAD NOT ACHIEVED PLANNED INCREASES IN PRODUCTION CAPACITY, CAUSING DIFFICULTIES IN PLAN

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IMPLEMENTATION, ESPECIALLY FOR "SUPPLY GOODS". "BREAKS IN THE POWER-INTENSIVE ARTICLES SUCH AS CARBIDES, IRON AND STELL PRODUCTS, CHEMICALS AND CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS.)

(C) FOREIGN TRADE: "WE DID NOT SUFFICIENTLY INTENSIFY EXPORTS, THE VOLUME OF WHICH DETERMINES OUR IMPORT POSSIBILITIES. IMPORTS ARE NOT BEING RATIONALIZED CONSISTENTLY."

4. THE FIRST SECRETARY CITED FIVE PROBLEM AREAS THAT HE SAID WILL REQUIRE REDOUBLED EFFORT FROM ALL ECONOMIC UNITS:

(A) IMPROVEMENT OF MARKET SUPPLIES: GIEREK SAID THAT ADDITIONAL INVESTMENTS WILL BE DEVOTED TO IMPROVE MARKET SUPPLIES
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AND TO CREATE BETTER CONDITIONS FOR REGIONAL PRODUCTION OF MARKET GOODS AND SERVICES, AND THAT REGIONAL AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN GRANTED GREATER CONTROL OVER LABOR COOPERATIVES AND REGIONAL INDUSTRIES. THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DOMESTIC MARKET, HE SAID, CREATED AT THE NINTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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PENUM IN OCTOBER 1977, HAD INSTITUTED A SYSTEM
OF "CURRENT CONTROL" OVER DELIVERIES OF CERTAIN
FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT COMMODITIES TO THE MARKET.
FURTHER GROWTH OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE AND FOOD
PRODUCTION, GIEREK CONTINUED, IS OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE.
IN HIS ONLY REFERENCE TO PROSPECTS FOR THIS YEAR'S
HARVEST, HE SAID, "THIS YEAR THE SPRING CONDITIONS
HAVE NOT BEEN FAVORABLE FOR FIELD WORK AND THE
VEGETATION OF PLANTS IN ALL VOIVODSIPS".

B) HOUSING: IN ORDER TO PROVIDE MORE HOUSING,
"CONSIDERABLE OUTLAYS, OVER AND ABOVE THE PLAN,
HAVE BEEN EARMARKED FOR THIS GOAL". GIEREK ADDED
THAT POTENTIAL HOUSING CONSTRUCTION BY FACTORIES,
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AND COOPERATIVE CONSTRUCTION BY FACTORY WORKERS,
WERE NOT BEING SUFFICIENTLY EXPLOITED.

C) TRANSPORT: ACCORDING TO GIEREK, A SPECIAL
EFFORT SHOULD BE MOUNTED IN THE THIRD QUARTER OF
1978 TO DELIVER COAL, BUILDING MATERIALS, FERTILIZER,
AND TIMBER IN ORDER TO AVOID PILE-UPS AND BACKLOGS
AS ENTERPRISES SCRAMBLE TO FULFILL THE PLAN IN THE
WANING DAYS OF THE YEAR.

D) FOREIGN TRADE: GIEREK APPEALED TO KSRS
FOR CONCERN ABOUT "THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF
EXPORT PRODUCTION AND DELIVERIES CONSISTENT WITH
THE TERMS OF AGREEMENTS". AFTER ALLUDING TO THE
IMPORTANCE -- AND THE DIFFICULTUMS -- OF EXPORTING
TO CAPITALIST MARKETS, HE EULOGIZED "THE NEW,
HIGHER STAGE OF LONG-TERM ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC-
TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION" WITH THE USSR. THE GROWTH
OF TURNOVER AND "STRENGTHENING OF INTEGRATING BONDS
WITH THE MIGHT SOVIET ECONOMY", HE SAID, TOGERTHER
WITH COOPERATION WITH OTHER "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES,
PROVIDED "THE BASIC GUARANTEE OF THE FULL USE OF OUR
INDUSTRIAL POTENTIAL AND THE SUCCESSFUL SOLUTION
OF PROBLEMS OF THE FURTHER SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
OF SOCIALIST POLAND". GIEREK PROMISED THAT PER
DECISIONS TAKEN DURING HIS TALKS WITH BREZHNEV AND
THOSE BETWEEN JAROSZEWICZ AND KOSYGIN, "SOVIET DELIVERIES
OF FUEL, RAW MATERIALS AND OTHER GOODS IMPORTANT

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FOR US WILL BE INCREASED THIS YEAR".

E) EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT: GIEREK SAID THE
STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION SHOULD BE IMPROVED AND COSTS
REDUCED. HE CITED THE "MODIFIED ECONOMIC-FINANCIAL
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SYSTEM", INTRODUCED EARLIER THIS YEAR, AS ONE STEP
UNDERTAKEN TO "STRENGTHEN THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF THE
CENTRAL PLAN AS AN EXPRESSION OF NATIONAL INTEREST, WHILE
CREATING AT THE SAME TIME WIDER OPPORTUNITIES FOR
THE INITIATIVE OF ECONOMIC UNITS". (COMMENT: THIS
MAY PRESAGE A DEGREE OF DECENTRALIZATION FOR MANAGERIAL DE-
CISION-MAKING. OBVIOUSLY, THOUGH, THE REGIME'S
APPROACH TO THIS HIGHLY TOUCHY SUBJECT CONTIUES TO BE
CAUTIOUS. END COMMENT.)

5. GIEREK LACED HIS REVIEW OF THE ECONOMY WITH
APPEALS TO KSR'S TO PARTICIPATE IN MOBILIZING RESOURCES
TO FULFILL THE PLAN AND BUILD A BETTER PEOPLE'S
POLAND. "SELF-GOVERNMENT", HE SAID, "PROVIDES THE
MOST EFFECTIVE PLANE FOR COMBINING THE INTERESTS
OF THE SOCIALIST STATE WITH THE INTERESTS AND ENDEAVORS
OF WORK COLLECTIVES, OF NATIONAL ISSUES AND LOCAL
INITIATIVES. KSR'S OFFER " THE WODEST FORM OF PARTICIPATION
OF THE WORKING CLASS IN DETERMINING AND IMPLEMENTING
SOCIO-ECONOMIC TASKS". GIEREK CALLED THE KSR A TOOL
TO ALLY WORKERS WITH THE INTELLIGENTSIA "IMMENSELY
IMPORTANT FOR THE MORAL-POLITICAL UNITY OF THE NATION".
KSR'S, GIEREK CONTINUED, SHOULD CONCENTRATE THEIR
EFFORTS ON IMPROVING EFFICIENCY AND PRODUCTIVITY
WITHIN FACTORIES. THEY HAVE A "SUPERVISORY FUNCTION"
TO ASSURE THAT PERSONAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCES ARE
USED ECONOMICALLY, TO ENSURE "CORRECT DISTRIBUTION
AND RATIONAL USE OF FACTORY FUNDS, EQUITABLE PROMOTION
POLICY, DISTRIBUTION OF BONUSES AND ALLOCATION OF
HOUSING". GIEREK CHARGED HIS AUDIENCE TO "MAKE SURE
THAT IN ALL ENTERPRISES WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT
INSPIRE AND ORGANIZE THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT OF GOOD WORK,
THE SOCIALIST WORK COMPETITION MOVEMENT, RATIONALIZATION
OF WORK, AND WORKERS' INVENTIVENESS".

6. ACCORDING TO GIERK, THE ROLE OF THE KSR WILL
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BE EXPANDED AND POLITBURO CONSULTATION WITH KSR

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REPRESENTATIVES MADE AN ANNUAL EVENT "TO CONFIRM
THE GREAT IMPORTANCE WHICH WE ATTACHE TO THE PARTICIPATION
OF WORK CREWS IN ADMINISTRATION". GIEREK SAID KSRY
WILL PLAY A LARGER ROLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF
WOG'S (LARGE INDUSTRIAL GROUPS) AND THE USE OF THE
KSR, ROOTED IN POLAND'S HEAVY INDUSTRY, WILL BE
EXTENDED TO ALL STATE ENTERPRISES. HE AVOWED
THAT TRADE UNIONS, YOUTH GROUPS, AND PARTY ORGANIZATIONS
WOULD STRIVE TO MAKE KSR'S FUNCTION BETTER: "PZPR
FACTORY COMMITTEES... SHOULD ASSIST THE DEVELOPMENT
OF WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT AND STRENGTHEN ITS BONDS
WITH FACTORY STAFF". "THE POLITBURO," GIEREK CONTINUED,
"HAS RULED THAT THE PREROGATIVES OF WORKERS' SELF-
GOVERNMENT BE OBSERVED, THAT ITS OPINION BE RESPECTED
AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN ALL MAJOR AFFAIRS OF THE
ENTERPRISE BE ASSURED." HE CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT
"AT THE SAME TIME, THE POLITBURO EMPHASIZED THAT
ONE-PERSON DIRECTION OF AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR AN
ENTERPRISE REMAINS AN UNCHANGED PRINCIPLE."

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7. COMMENT: MUCH OF GIEREK'S REPORT ON THE ECONOMY
READS LIKE A WARMED OVER VERSION OF HIS STATEMENT TO THE
PARTY CONFERENCE IN JANUARY. DESPITE THE SATISFACTORY
INCREASE IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN THE FIRST HALF OF
THE YEAR (A POLISH NEWS AGENCY (PAP) REPORT PUBLISHED
IN TRYBUNA LUDU JULY 19 ASSERTS THAT IT ROSE 6.2 PERCENT DURING
JANUARY-JULY 1978), SEVERAL KEY SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY
ARE STRUGLLING TO FULFILL THEIR PLANS FOR THE YEAR. FROM
WHAT GIEREK SAID TO THE KSR'S, LAST WINTER'S POWER SHORT-
AGES MUST HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY IMPEDED PRODUCTION IN A
VARIETY OF IMPORTANT BASIC INDUSTRIES. REGARDING ONE
KEY PLANT, THERE HAVE BEEN RECURRING REPORTS ABOUT PROB-
LEMS AT THE POLISH-SOVIET SHOWPIECE STEELWORKS, HUTA
KATOWICE, WHICH IS ALLEGED TO SUFFER FROM INSUFFICIENT
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WATER AND IRON ORE SUPPLIES. (ACCORDING TO ONE STORY,
FILMMAKER BRONISLAW POREBA, USUALLY CONSIDERED
FAVORABLY INCLINED TOWARD THE REGIME, WAS COMMISSIONED
TOTBAKE A FILM ON HUTA KATOWICE. HE USED THE DOCUMENTARY
AS A VEHICLE TO SPOTLIGHT THE SOCIAL ILLS SUCH AS ALCOHOL-
ISM, ABSENTEEISM, AND CRONYISM THAT PLAGUE THE ENTERPRISE.
KATOWICE PARTY FIRST SECRETARY ZDZISLAW GRUDZIEN,
HORRIFIED BY THE FILM'S MESSAGE IS SAID TO HAVE STOPPED
ITS DISTRIBUTION.)

8. THE GROWTH OF PERSONAL INCOME CONTINUES TO OUTSTRIP
INCREASES IN PRODUCTIVITY, THEREBY RELEASING EVER MORE
ZLOTYS TO CHASE A LIMITED SELECTION OF CONSUMER GOODS.
ALSO, IN CONTRAST TO PREVIOUS YEARS, POLAND IS REPORTED
TO BE RUNNING A SLIGHT FAVORABLE BALANCE IN ITS
TRADE WITH THE USSR. IF THE FIGURES ON RISING TRADE BE-
TWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE CORRECT, A BALANCE FAVORABLE
TO POLAND SIGNIFIES A MAJOR UXA GE OF EXPORTS TO THE
SOVIET UNION AND A CONSEQUENT DRAIN ON OTHER SECTORS OF
THE ECONOMY. REINFORCING GIEREK'S ALLUSION TO LESS-
THAN-ROSY AGRICULTURAL PROSPECTS, TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTED JULY 19
THAT THE GRAIN HARVEST THIS YEAR WOULD BEGIN 10-15
DAYS BEHIND SCHEDULE DUE TO UNFAVORABLE WEATHER CONDI-
TIONS. IN ADDITION, THE POLITBURO'S INSTRUCTION TO THE
TRADE UNIONS THAT THE AREA AVAILABLE FOR WORKERS' GARDEN
PLOTS BE DOUBLED CAN BE INTERPRETED AS A MEASURE TO COUNTER
EXPECTED SHORTAGES IN VEGETABLES THIS YEAR.

9. WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT HAD RECEIVED VIRTUALLY NO
MEDIA ATTENTION IN THE MONTHS THAT PRECEDED GIEREK'S
REPORT TO KSR REPRESENTATIVES. IN CONTRAST, IN THE WAKE
OF HIS SPEECH THE PRESS HAS BEEN REPLETE WITH REPORTS OF
KSR MEETINGS AROUND THE COUNTRY. SOME SEJM DELEGATES HAVE
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SUGGESTED THAT THE FIRST SECRETARY'S APPARENT UPGRADING
OF KSR'S MARKS A HISTORIC RETURN TO THE IDEAS
ABOUT WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT THAT BRIEFLY FLOWERED
IN 1956. HOWEVER, IN THE ABSENCE OF CONCRETE EVIDENCE
TO THE CONTRARY, IT IS LIKELY THAT GIEREK'S ACCOLADES
FOR KSR'S WERE LARGELY IF NOT ENTIRELY LIP SERVICE,

POSSIBLY INTENDED TO COUNTER THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF DISSIDENT LITERATURE. (ONE SOURCE, CLOSE TO DISSI-
DENT CIRCLES, CLAIMS THAT ROBOTNIK, THE UNDERGROUND
JOURNAL OF THE COMMITTEE FOR SOCIAL SELF-DEFENSE KOR,
IS WIDELY READ IN FACTORIES).

10. THE FIRST SECRETARY'S SPEECH STRESSED
THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT UNITS
BUT SOFT-PEDALED THEIR RIGHTS. IT CONTAINED NO HINT
THAT THE KSR'S WILL HAVE EVEN A TRACE OF GENUINE INDEPENDENCE
IN THE FUTURE. THE ANNOUNCED EXPANSION OF THE ROLE OF
THE KSR IN FACTORY ADMINISTRATION IS THE PRODUCT
OF A POLITUBOR FIAT, PRESUMABLY TO BE GOVERNED BY THE
POLITBURO'S TERMS. WITHIN FACTORIES, GIEREK IMPLIED,
THAT KSR REMAINS ONE COMMITTEE AMONG SEVERAL
(UNION, PZPR) CHARGED WITH THE SAME TASKS; I.E. ENFORCE-
MENT OF WORK DISCIPLINE AND FULFILLMENT OF THE PLAN.
GIEREK'S CAVEAT THAT ADMINISTRATION STAYS IN THE HANDS
OF THE DIRECTOR CLEARLY KEEPS THE KSR'S AT THE BOTTOM
RUNG OF THE FACTORY MANAGEMENT LADDER. END COMMENT.

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